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males, refused to work side by side, and each organized separate shifts, one beginning at Tepoztlán and working toward Cuernavaca, the other working from Cuernavaca toward Tepoztlán.

Although the village *cuatequitl* is intended as a means of aiding the village as a whole, there are many obstacles to its successful operation, and it is gradually declining. Perhaps the fundamental difficulty is the inherent individualism of Tepoztecans, the suspiciousness and critical attitude toward the local government, and the paucity of local funds. The village *cuatequitl* has been traditionally associated in the minds of the villagers as a coercive rather than a voluntary institution. This may

Fig. 20. The communal washbasin.

be the result of having lived under an authoritarian system in which the local government had been imposed for years. Since the local government, generally the *indico* or the president, has the power to designate the citizens who are to work in the *cuatequitl*, there is ample opportunity for favoritism and vengeance against political opponents or personal enemies.

It may be significant in this connection that children in their games will often say, "Unless you do this I will give you your *cuatequitl*," suggesting that the *cuatequitl* is viewed as a punishment. It should also be noted that historically the existence of a native institution for collective labor was a distinct aid to the Spanish conquerors in their organization and control of the labor supply.

The second type of *cuatequitl* is the barrio *cuatequitl*. This is the collective working of the lands of the barrio saints. Barrio members are expected to cooperate in the preparation of the land, planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops from the saints' field. The sale of the produce goes for the upkeep of the local chapel. In contrast to the village *cuatequitl*, participation in the barrio *cuatequitl* is entirely voluntary. The barrio *mayordomo* goes through the barrio announcing at each house the time of the *cuatequitl*. While there are no fines or penalties for non-

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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241 423 [178] land and *ejido*. Most of the families who either owned private land or held *ejido* or both and who also worked *tlacolol* had turned to *tlacolol* because their holdings were too small to support their families. But there is a trend among even the better-to-do families to turn back to *tlacolol;* for example, twelve of the twenty families who owned private land, held an *ejido* grant, and worked *tlacolol*, were among the large landowners.

SIZE OF CLEARINGS

Most *tlacolol* clearings are small, averaging between eight and twelve *cuartillos* of seed. The largest *tlacolol* operator in the village plants only thirty-five *cuartillos*. As we shall see, the great amount of labor necessary for clearing *tlacolol* land is the most important limiting factor in the size of clearings used. A related factor, however, is the growing shortage of land which has sufficiently grown back into forest after earlier clearings. Furthermore, *tlacolol* is definitely viewed as subsistence [626] agriculture, and any man who cleared inordinately large areas, even if he could, would incur the wrath of the other villagers.

TOOLS OF PRODUCTION

241 412 Plow and oxen are ruled out in *tlacolol* because of the nature of the terrain. In *texcal* the large volcanic rocks lie around helter skelter, so that it is difficult for a man even to walk. Similarly the steep slopes of the *cerros*, and the lime outcroppings make the plow and oxen impractical. In both types of *tlacolol*, the tools used are the *coa, tlalache, cuxala, azadón*, and machete. (See Fig. 29.) They are homemade [438] except for the iron tips in the hoe and machete, which are bought. Thus, in con- [422] trast to farmers in plow culture, most *tlacololeros* own their own tools. The cost of the *tlalache* and the *coa* are shown in Table 35.

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TABLE 35. Cost of *Tlalache* and *Coa*, Tools Used in *Tlacolol*.

Year	Cost in Pesos	
	Tlalache	*Coa*
1926	1.50	1.25
1935	2.25	1.75
1940	3.00	2.25
1944	5.50	3.25

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

243 *Preparation of Land:* Work in *tlacolol* begins in January. The trees are cut with an ax, and the bush is cleared with a machete, extremely difficult and time-consuming work. It takes approximately 40 to 50 days for a man to clear enough land for the planting of 12 *cuartillos* of corn. The trees and brush dry out and are burned in April, and the ashes are left to "fertilize" the soil. Burning is generally done in a single day with two or three men working together. If the materials are not all burned, the group will return and work another day. Enclosures of rocks

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when they were able to buy land at low prices from hungry and half-starved villagers. The chaotic conditions during the Revolution, and the burning of the local archives and property registers, enabled some families to obtain land by devious methods. When the *caciques* fled the village, their lands were cultivated by the poorer families who remained. For the most part, however, these lands were returned to the owners or their heirs when they came back after peace had been established. In some poor families in which the head of the family was killed in the Revolution, the widows lost their land because they could show no legal title and were too poor to fight the cases in the courts.

Perhaps the most important ways in which families have obtained their wealth since the Revolution are through hard work, thrift, and self-denial over many years, and through the purchase and sale of cattle. Cattle trips to Guerrero and southern Morelos immediately after the Revolution were dangerous, and only those with courage, initiative, and a little capital went. In regard to self-denial, it is a common saying in Tepoztlán that the rich are the most miserly and thrifty. The terms *codo* (stingy) and *miserable* are often applied to the rich by their poorer neighbors. It should also be noted that in practically all cases of better-to-do families, the wife has been a hard worker and a good manager and has played a crucial part in aiding the family.

Movement down the economic ladder is occasioned by a number of factors. The fact that property is divided more or less equally among all the children makes it difficult for the same family to maintain its high position from one generation to another, although the sons of such families have an obvious advantage over the sons of landless families. But there are also other factors. Illness, lack of thrift, or poor management may result in a rapid loss of resources. Well-to-do families are also subject to some pressure from the community to participate in the fiesta life, and some of the wealthier families spend more heavily on costumes for the Carnaval and accept the job of barrio *mayordomo*, which always entails expenses. But as a rule it is the families of the middle group that go in for this type of spending.

HOUSING AND HOUSE FURNISHINGS

The houses of Tepoztlán are essentially of three types, the primitive *jacal*, the adobe house, and the more substantial dwellings found in the center of the village. The *jacal* and the adobe house are basically Indian, and the houses in the center show more of the Spanish influence.

The *jacal* is the poorest type of house in Tepoztlán and is considered primitive and extremely undesirable by the majority of the population. (See Fig. 35.) It is a flimsy structure of cornstalks or *otate* (Mexican bamboo), with thatched roof and earthen floor that give insufficient protection against cold, wind, and rain. The roof is apt to be gabled, in contrast with the one-sided sloping roof that is common in the village. The *jacal* is relatively infrequent in Tepoztlán and makes up less than 5 per cent of all dwellings; it is almost entirely limited to the smaller, outlying barrios, particularly in the upper part of the village. The *jacal* is far more

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½ kilo sugar	.23
Bread	.20
Coffee	.10
Drinking alcohol for parents	.30
Milling corn	.32
Total	8.00

Source of funds:
None

The amount earned by this family for the week was 97.95 pesos in cash and corn. The outgo was 48.60 for food, 33.00 to repay debts, and 24.03 for non-food items, leaving a deficit of 7.68. The hand-to-mouth, day-to-day existence, involving borrowing, receiving wages in advance, and buying food and necessities to last one day or so, is readily apparent from this record. Although approximately 50 per cent of the income is spent on food, the diet is monotonous and sparse, and conforms with our previous description of the diet of a poor family. During these seven days, the family ate no meat, no milk, no eggs, and no fruit. Wild greens were eaten in large quantities approximately every other day, but they have not been included in the record since they were gathered by the family and involved no expense. Corn makes up 69.8 per cent of the food expenditure and is eaten in large quantities.

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The irregularity of food consumption, depending upon the amount of cash on hand, is more apparent from a study of our full record. For example, in the week of August 4 to 11, three and one-half kilos of meat were purchased, but during the rest of the month almost no meat was bought. Also, when there is money or corn, the family eats 7½ *cuartillos* of corn, but when money is lacking, consumption goes down to three *cuartillos*. When there is no money, the mule is taken to pasture to save buying hay, and the turkeys and chickens are sold or left to fend for themselves. To save money, the mother and daughter sometimes grind corn on the *metate* instead of at the mill.

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Tepoztecans are very food conscious, as might be expected in view of the food situation we have described, and they show a keen interest in the eating habits of their relatives and neighbors. There is much gossip and criticism, often contradictory in nature, concerning the type of foods eaten by others and the amount spent on food. For example, the poor say, "The rich do not eat well because they are too stingy," or the poor are frankly envious of those who "eat better because they are rich." The better-to-do scornfully characterize the poor as eating only tortillas and salt, and those in the larger barrios contend that families in the small barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes eat only two meals a day because they are "backward." Older or more conservative individuals criticize "modern" families for being presumptuous and unthrifty in eating too well, and the latter in turn accuse the former of ignorance concerning proper eating. Much of the talk about food reflects the changing standards of diet and the importance of food habits for social status. The interest in food and the critical attitude toward the eating habits of others may be a carry-over of the behavior which we have noted among children in the home.

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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12 *the quality of inter-personal relations:*

TEPOZTECANS are not an easy people to get to know; they are not an outgoing or expressive people. Most inter-personal relations are characterized by reserve, constriction, and carefully guarded behavior. Spontaneous or informal behavior is limited to the most intimate relationships and rarely occurs in public. Tepoztecans do not like to attract attention by word or deed, and self-control is learned early. In the presence of adults, children are expected to be unobtrusive.[1] In large public gatherings of adults and children, there is a minimum of noise. A family whose quarrels or boisterousness can be heard by passers-by soon earns a poor reputation.

In the street, most faces are somber and quiet; smiles, brief and appropriate; hearty laughter, rare. Women and girls are expected to walk with eyes downcast and those who smile freely may be suspected of being flippant and flirtatious. Adolescent girls, in particular, must have good facial control, for even a glance of interest may be taken as a sign of encouragement by some hopeful male. To smile unnecessarily at other people's infants is to be suspected of the evil eye, and most children do not learn to smile at strangers or visitors until they attend school.

Correct behavior is important at all times, at home, with friends, with relatives, and in public. Only in the case of old people and men who are drunk are deviations from customary reserve tolerated. Nevertheless, men recovering from drunkenness are apt to worry over having committed some improper act, such as behaving disrespectfully to a *compadre*. For this reason, men are careful about choosing drinking companions; individuals in a respect-relation, such as father and son, uncle and nephew, and *compadres*, must never drink together.

There are no fiestas in Tepoztlán which are openly bacchanalian in character, or in which women as well as men become drunk and promiscuous as in some other parts of Mexico. Even at the Carnaval, when Tepoztecans behave with relative freedom, the leading participants are disguised in masks and costumes, and whatever love-making takes place is done secretly.

[1] Only during the recreation hour in school do children make a great deal of noise and play wildly. The play pattern in school is in sharp contrast with that at home and is clearly out of keeping with the older culture pattern.

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tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

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[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecans do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecans learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecans are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecans are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztecan shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecans consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecans, particularly men,

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romantic undertakings, and in fiestas. The *cuate* is not expected to aid in domestic or economic difficulties, although he may do so. The *cuate* relationship is frequently stabilized and formalized after marriage by being turned into a *compadre* relationship at the birth of a *cuate's* child. In this way, a comparatively intimate alliance is short lived and gives way to a more formal respect-relationship.

There is a great deal of hostility in inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán. But much of this hostility is suppressed, or expressed indirectly in the form of malicious gossip, stealing, secretive destruction of property, ridicule, deprecation and envy, and sorcery.

A particularly interesting example of the Tepoztecan attitude that aggression in inter-personal relations should not be expressed directly is the widespread use of *indirectas*, which are criticisms indirectly expressed. These take various forms such as criticism by allusion, self-deprecation, use of the diminutive in a cutting way, and belittlement. Whenever these are used, it is immediately understood that insult is intended. For example, one man addressing another who had boasted of being the undisputed head of his household, said, "I don't rule in my house but everything is in order. Others say they are very manly, but if they only knew enough to look around they would find their wife with another man."

The following conversation between two women further illustrates the *indirecta*. The first woman is a prosperous storekeeper who is very pious but whose children have turned out "bad," according to other villagers. Recently, one of her daughters was almost dragged off by her sweetheart, but she managed to escape leaving him holding her *rebozo*. The second woman in this conversation is the wife of a prosperous farmer and is known to be ambitious to educate her children. Three of them have scholarships and are studying at a public school to become schoolteachers.

The first woman said, "I will educate my daughters but not for four years like other people so that they can come here and get jobs as little teachers."

The second woman answered, "The rich can send their children to the best schools. We are poor and cannot afford it. I hope God helps you in all you desire."

First woman, continuing, "And I won't let my daughter work like some because it is dangerous for a girl to be away from her parents."

Thereupon the second woman said, "As much as people guard their daughters I notice that they elope or have their *rebozos* taken from them. Some people swallow saints and defecate devils."

Other examples of common *indirectas* are: "They are a little rich and now have a little calf, but before, they knew how to steal." "They say they eat very well, but I notice that they are as skinny as I." Another type of *indirecta* is the generalization meant to apply to someone present. For example, a young schoolteacher who took pride in wearing stylish clothing appeared one day in a new-style skirt. She joined a group of other teachers, whereupon one of them said loudly that she heartily disliked the new styles and would not wear one of them for anything. The young girl turned pale and immediately left the group.

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578 626 A man who believes himself to be the butt of an *indirecta* will also usually leave the group, but sometimes the statements are so obvious and crude that he interprets them as a challenge to fight. However, rarely does a fight occur as a result of such a situation; rather, the insulted person waits for an opportunity to harm the other secretly, and he, in turn, spends many an uneasy hour not knowing what to expect.

Gossip is unrelenting and harsh in Tepoztlán, especially when directed against an individual or family with whom there is a grievance. Facts about people are unconsciously or maliciously distorted, and gossip sometimes leads to tragedy. Relatives and neighbors are quick to believe the worst, and motives are always under question. A woman who puts on her best dress and takes a bus to Cuernavaca is said to be going to meet a lover. A girl who leaves town to work or study is going "to throw away a baby." A man who has gained weight and wears better clothing than before, for no known reason, must have been stealing. A wife who dominates her husband must have bewitched him.

There is a readiness to inform on others and to carry complaints to the head of the family. Neighbors and relatives are quick to let parents know that their daughter has been seen talking or walking with a boy, or that their child has been throwing stones. Claims for even slight damages are readily made. For example, a widow selling squash in the market place made a row and demanded payment when someone's two-year-old son knocked over a squash and caused the stem to fall off.

[156] Successful persons are popular targets of criticism, envy, and malicious gossip. A new calf or cow may come home with a deep slash from someone's machete. Some unknown enemy may stone another's dog or drive away his chickens or pigs.

[609] Tourists, government representatives, or other outsiders, whether from another country, state, or village, are favorite targets for private ridicule which is often carping and picayune. Their way of dress, their speech, their manners are all fair game, and any mishap they suffer or error they make gives special delight. Most

[522] of the humor in jokes, stories, and conversation is in the form of ridicule of some person or group. At the Carnaval it is the custom for some of the masked dancers

[535] to caricature and criticize public figures, much to the glee of the villagers.

[793] Even the priest is not above criticism. At one period in the history of the village there was so much criticism of successive priests sent in from the outside that the archbishop decided to punish the village by threatening to withhold a priest for seven years. However, a Tepoztecan who had studied for the priesthood agreed to

[551] take the job and retained it successfully for many years. Nicknames are common and also tend to expose personal weaknesses, sometimes to an embarrassing degree. In addition to personal nicknames, there are also nicknames for each of the barrios and villages within the municipio.

578 754 [156] [152] The most feared, but perhaps least common, form of indirect aggression is sorcery. Fear of sorcery is not omnipresent. It occurs only when a person has reason to expect it as the result of having injured or insulted another or of having become wealthy or otherwise outstanding. Young men and women are also apt to

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185 [426] birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival. The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

177 152 571 There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

156 183 [154] [753] Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espanto*, rather than to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

154 593 This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

777 154 [691] Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate, and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be little or no self-defense.

For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

777 626 [661] [208] This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls

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the behavior of public figures, is directly related to many of the characteristics described previously.

Is the social character of Tepoztlán unique to Tepoztlán, or is it typical of other rural Mexican communities? A definitive answer must wait until we have seen more culture and personality studies than are now available. Indeed, the study of inter-personal relations in rural Mexico and other parts of Central America is still in its infancy.[8] Nevertheless, some of the existing monographs give us considerable insight and make some comparisons possible.

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George Foster, in his monograph on the Tarascan village of Tzintzuntzan, writes as follows about the people:

> The collectivistic aspects of rural and Indian Mexican life have been stressed in many studies of Mexico, and much recent Government planning, such as the development of the *ejidos*, has been predicated on the assumption that this is a dominant characteristic of rural peoples. In Tzintzuntzan one is struck, not with the collectivistic but rather with the strong tradition of individualistic attitudes. . . .[9]
>
> Self-criticism is an unknown virtue—if such it is—and failure is always due to elements beyond one's control; the weather, bad luck, the unscrupulousness of other persons, but never is it the fault of the individual himself. . . .[10]
>
> Mistrust, suspicion, and fear are the common reactions to new persons or situations. One tends to jump to conclusions, to suspect the worst rather than the best about both old friends and new. In any new social relationship it is assumed that the other person is trying to get the better of one. . . .[11]
>
> . . . the possibility of material success is so limited by ecological and economic factors that few persons can ever expect to get far ahead . . . the wealth goal is difficult and almost impossible of attainment; hence, the stimulus of a reasonable chance of success is lacking. Since one's own life is so much a series of frustrations one takes pleasure in noting the difficulties of neighbors, even though . . . it is a case of biting off the nose to spite the face. Consciously or unconsciously the average Tzintzuntenyo realizes that in a material way he probably never will advance far. Hence, he envies, criticizes, and abuses his rare neighbor who does so, meanwhile further neglecting his own work.[12]

All of this applies accurately to Tepoztlán.

Elsie Clews Parsons, in her monograph on the Zapotecan town of Mitla, gives us a summary of Mitla character in a discussion of what traits are Indian and what are Spanish. Again we find many similarities in Tepoztlán. She writes,

> Psychological analysis I cannot attempt, as this study is cultural rather than psychological, but on occasion I have referred to psychological attitudes which have appeared to me

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[8] There are very few studies of Mexican national character. The Mexican philosopher, Samuel Ramos, has made a pioneer effort in his *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*. Mexico, 1938. Ramos believes that feelings of inferiority are the basic traits of the Mexican character. Findings in Tepoztlán do not bear this out.

[9] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 287.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back.

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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mon. Without exception, our informants described labor dramatically, with emphasis upon the pain. "It is death to bear a baby" is a common sentiment. Some look back at labor with shuddering and expressions of horror, even fifteen years after the birth of their last child. Midwives report that many mothers are severely frightened during and after delivery and must be calmed by being heated with a smoky fire. *Pericón* or rosemary or laurel, or all three, are burned in an old clay pot, and the strong smelling smoke is directed underneath the blanket to heat the woman's lower parts.

After the child is born, the *cenidor* is tightened around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the blood and the placenta from rising in the mother and possibly causing her death. If the afterbirth is slow in coming, it is a common custom to put salt and onion into the mother's hand so that she can smell them, and she is given some mint leaves to chew. Sometimes a very hot tortilla is placed on the right side of the abdomen and pressed down by the midwife. In very delayed cases some midwives insert their hands to try to pull out the afterbirth.

The afterbirth is buried under the hearth. It is believed that if it is left anywhere else, the baby's face will swell; if it is thrown into the corral, as some do, it may cause *daño;* if it is eaten by a dog, the mother will die. The umbilical cord is cut with a scissors about 4 or 5 fingers away from the child. The remaining cord is tied with a thread and burned with a few drops of wax from a tallow candle. The wax is applied every day until the cord drops off. The umbilical cord is generally kept inside the house and saved to be later used in the treatment of some eye diseases. Some sell the cord to *curanderos* for about twenty-five centavos each. Many believe that only the umbilical cord of the first child or the first son is effective. When a child is born in a caul, it is said he will be rich. The caul is carefully saved for good luck.

Only an occasional woman in Tepoztlán has her child delivered by a doctor. Somewhat more frequently he is called in after delivery if there is some difficulty. The high cost of calling a doctor from Cuernavaca [11] made it prohibitive for the great majority of the families. However, even those with money do not generally call a doctor, particularly a male doctor. The prudishness and suspiciousness of the women are a major inhibiting factor. Women who have used a doctor have become the target of much malicious gossip.

The following quotation from a woman of one of the large barrios is an example of the nature of the gossip, in this case concerning a local schoolteacher, "First she called a *curandero,* and her baby was born, and everything was fine. But she sent for a doctor just to have him feel her, to play with her because that is what she wanted. The midwife said that when the doctor arrived he uncovered the patient and put in his hand and after he played with her he sewed her up. Then he grabbed the baby by the belly and he had it hang that way as though it were his toy. He could have killed him! But that is what they wanted. As for me, for nothing in the

[11] Now there is a doctor in the village.

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world would I let a man doctor take care of me. It is better that the child be born alone." This attitude, encouraged by the midwives, is very widespread, even among women who have lived outside the village or who have had more education.

POSTNATAL CARE

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When the delivery is over, the mother is lifted onto a board and up to the bed or *tepexco*, if she uses either of these. If there is no one to lift her, she may get up herself without danger, for she is still "hot." She is wrapped in a sheet to prevent getting *mal aires*. The midwife binds the mother around the abdomen and tucks in a *muñeca*, a piece of rolled up cloth. The purpose of this *muñeca*, which is placed over the abdomen so as to bring pressure upon it, is to "fix the matrix." As far as we could ascertain, there is no magical or symbolic qualities connected with this *muñeca*, and there is little attempt to make it resemble a doll.[12] Clean cloths which are washed and replaced every day by the girl's mother or mother-in-law are placed between the patient's legs. Her soiled clothing is removed and she is given an old-fashioned *huipil* made from a large square cloth and slipped over her head. A skirt, made from a large cloth, is wrapped around her hips and legs. The mother is not bathed until the next day, for she is still "hot." After a bath of warm water she is dressed in clean clothing. The temporary *huipil* and skirt are then used as diapers for the baby. The mother is not completely bathed again until the first *temascal* or sweatbath.

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The baby is wiped with clean old rags and is bound with a strip of cloth, doubled over the umbilicus and tied with a string. Some mothers prepare a belt for this purpose. The child is wrapped in warmed cloths, usually cut from his father's old shirt or pants. Some midwives drop lemon juice into the baby's eyes and give him a spoonful of castor oil as a purgative. The child is not washed until the following day because water will chill him.

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The mother's diet for five days after the birth is poor and provides little nutrition. She is given cinnamon and water and a roll soon after the birth. If she has afterpains she is given honey and alcohol. At the next mealtime she eats toasted meat and tortilla, and for the next five days her diet consists of *atole*, cinnamon tea, and rolls. Some women take only cinnamon tea, tortilla, a small piece of cheese, and warm water during this period. Milk, coffee, and chocolate are thought dangerous when taken alone because they "chill" the ovaries, but some of the more modern women take a little coffee with milk. All food restrictions cease when the woman

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[12] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 136-37. Redfield states, "She [the midwife] makes a doll of rags and ties this against the patient's abdomen." According to Redfield, this doll is removed forty days later at the time of the *cuemiza* and "on that day the rag doll symbolizing the child in the womb is taken from its place on the mother's abdomen." Although we made repeated inquiries among women of all ages and degrees of sophistication we could find nothing which would justify this interpretation of the symbolism of the so-called doll. The "doll" is actually a wad of cloth placed under the binding or sash in order to bring more pressure upon the abdomen. Many women wear this "doll" for months after childbirth, or even after they are past childbearing age because they are more comfortable with it. It is of interest to note that the use of the "doll" in this way was not mentioned in the monographs on Tzintzuntzan, Chenla, Mitla, or Chan Kom.

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842 prevent the reappearance of menstruation for as long as two years. According to
846 them, the ideal length of time to abstain is one year. Some women boast that they abstain for two years, and grandmothers say that in the old days women were not "molested" by their husbands for as much as three years, and that children were often born four and five years apart.

833 Today women complain that their husbands do not wait long enough and force
846 their wives to resume intercourse after six months, some even sooner. Generally it is the husband who is blamed for the early resumption of intercourse, but it is recognized that some women are *calientes* and lack self-control. Such women are
[853] considered selfish because they are often *añeras*, women who have babies every
[627] year, and endanger the life of the child, who must be weaned too soon. *Añeras* are subject to much gossip, but they are relatively rare. Most women are glad to avoid sexual intercourse, which is frequently referred to as *abuso de hombre*, male abuse.

The following expresses the attitudes of many women, "My grandmother told me to guard myself from men for they are the danger. I don't protect myself from work. The thing I am afraid of is the man. My husband respects me and doesn't insist even when he is drunk. That is why I am never pregnant when I am raising little ones." The majority of husbands refuse to abstain as long as the wives wish them to, and many men use the threat of taking a sweetheart to get their wives to comply. The wife who is not jealous is fortunate, because then her husband can leave her alone for a long time. Those wives who are jealous "give in" to their husbands to keep them from going to other women and may resume intercourse in as little as two or three months. It is one of the obligations of the mother-in-law to warn her son not to "molest" his wife and to urge the daughter-in-law not to be jealous. However, it takes money to have a sweetheart or to go to prostitutes. More often the poor couple will resume intercourse sooner than others.

846 The extended rest of the new mother also allegedly prevents backaches, illness,
[853] and ugly skin discolorations (*paño*) on the mother's face and protects the baby's supply of milk. Thus, the good husband and father owes it to his wife and child not
[357] only to abstain from sexual relations, but also to hire a servant for two or three months. Many husbands are unable to do either. If a woman's skin remains clear of *paño* and wrinkles, it is said that "her husband has been good to her" and that "she knew how to take care of herself." When the couple lives with the husband's parents
[606] it is one of the more important obligations of the husband's mother to see that her daughter-in-law receives the proper postnatal care. Normally, a woman, who is married under both civil and religious law and who has had the blessings of both sets of parents, can expect to receive the required care. Because of the expense in-
[735] volved, a poor woman is not always certain of getting the maximum amount of rest and attention, but women of more means are always assured of it. Even among very poor families, if other conditions are favorable, women are well cared for after
[848] giving birth. This is not true for unmarried mothers, abandoned mothers, poor
[588] women without close relatives, women living in free unions or married only under civil law, mothers of very large families, and other special cases.